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ABSTRACT

The work of the adult educators, Moses Coady in Novia Scotia (1920s and 1930s) and Paulo Freire in Brazil (1950s and 1960s) can be examined comparatively. Both men viewed adult education as a tool for social change. Both responded to endemic poverty, dysfunctional outside control, and lack of cooperative initiative from within. They would agree that the chronically poor see themselves as having the problem and do not attempt to find in themselves the solution. Both concluded that only the poor could effect meaningful change for themselves. The two men saw education as a process to examine what has gone wrong and what needs to be done. In the Coadian and Freierian philosophies, the learner's position is central, but not separate from the general community. The first goal in bringing about social change is to develop critical awareness on the part of the poor. Literacy education forms the contextual focus of Freire's efforts to promote the poor's active awareness; Coady's participants learn skills of economic cooperation to achieve active social awareness. Leadership for Freire and Coady is more a matter of being a change agent than a teacher. The differences between the two seem to be ones of degree, not of kind. (CSS)

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MASTERS OF THEIR OWN DESTINY:
A COMPARISON OF THE THOUGHT OF COADY AND FREIRE

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ABOUT THIS SERIES AND THIS PAPER

This Occasional Paper is the thirteenth in a series being published by the Centre for Continuing Education. Our aim is to contribute to the field of adult education by publishing monographs which originate here at The University of British Columbia and are deemed to be worthy of reaching a wider audience than would otherwise be the case.

The author of this paper, Anne Kathleen Armstrong, has worked in education for the last several years in various areas of South East Asia and Canada. She has a B.A. in Sociology from Carleton University and an M.Ed. in Reading Education from The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education. Currently she is a doctoral student in the Department of Adult Education at U.B.C. Ms. Armstrong's research and professional interests lie primarily in the area of adult education as it pertains to international development and social change.

This paper provides a very interesting comparative analysis of the ideas of Father Coady and Paulo Freire. It points out well both the many similarities and the differences in thought and action between the forceful Nova Scotian shaking the fishermen out of their lethargy and the sensitive and intellectualizing Brazilian striving to help the peasants through conscientisation. The analysis contributes to our better understanding of the processes of education for self-realization and self-reliance. It also reminds us of the Canadian contribution to these processes as early as the 1920's. Freire's work a quarter of a century later, in another continent, in its own way underscores Coady's ideas and actions.

Jindra Kulich
Acting Director

MASTERS OF THEIR OWN DESTINY:
A COMPARISON OF THE THOUGHT OF COADY AND FREIRE

> We can progress not by giving attention to either organism or environment, but to both and in relation to each other ....Those individuals are free who know their powers and capacities as well as their limitations; who seek a way of life which utilizes their total personalities; who aim to alter their conduct in relation to a changing environment in which they are conscious of being active agents. Adult education as a movement is here presented with a challenging opportunity....(It) will become an agency of progress...with a resolute policy of changing the social order...(and) changing individuals in continuous adjustment to changing social functions.[1]

Situations and Philosophies

The purpose of this paper is to examine comparatively the work of Moses Coady[2] and Paulo Freire as adult educators. A perhaps more implicit purpose is the exploration of these two men as exemplars of a particular view of adult education as a social force and a tool for social change. For while neither man wrote the above lines, either could have. The theme of social freedom and justice through reflective self-awareness and active participation within a changing and changeable environment is basic to both.

Although separated to some extent by time and geography, Freire and Coady are united to a much greater degree by circumstance and attitude. Northern Nova Scotia in the 1920's and 30's and Northeastern Brazil in the 1950's and 60's provide a common and unavoidable stimulus: endemic poverty, dysfunctional control from outside the region and an absence of co-operative initiative or direction from within.

As is often the case with the chronic poor, both Coady's "little man" and Freire's "oppressed" are unable to break out of that particular perspective of the world in which they are incapable and inferior, "destined to be hewers of wood and drawers of water for the (upper class)".[3] The causes of and solution to their unhappiness lies not within themselves but with some external agent: an uncaring bureaucracy, inadequate markets, the will of God, fate. Because they are "submerged in reality, they cannot see clearly the order which serves the interests of the oppressors".[4] They do not, in other words, see themselves as having the problem and therefore, do not attempt to find in themselves the solution. While both Freire and Coady agree on this as the basic problem, they do differ somewhat on the causes of it, a difference that is reflected more in their style of approach than in the content of it.

For Freire this condition has come about through a history of colonial oppression, first from Europe and then from Brazil's own upper classes. Both the opportunity and the tools for participation, a democratic political system and education, have been denied the vast numbers of destitute poor. Oppression has now become the accepted way of life and while the poor may feel unhappy because they are without material wealth and power they are nonetheless convinced that these are legitimate and necessary goals. "They are irresistably attracted toward the oppressor and his way of life" and therefore, continue to play within his rules and continue to lose.[5]

Coady on the other hand, does not seem so much concerned with changing the game as with improving the skills and so the chances of the players who are the poor. Unlike Freire who sees the ultimate solution as a complete re-organization of the society, so that the oppressed become "beings for themselves", Coady would maintain the current system but make it function more equitably, be less unkind. To accomplish this, the poor must re-take what they have let go, must assume that responsibility for their own social and economic development which they have surrendered "to

the enterprising crowd surrounding them".[6] For they have become not so much oppressed as over-serviced and so have lost their will and capacity to act on their own, in their own service. Whereas Freire's oppressed have been made slaves by the powerful and monied oppressors, Coady's little men have "become slaves because they have not taken the steps or expended the effort".[7]

This difference in attitude may well be a function of the historical experiences of the two countries. Freire's people have from the beginning been denied access to participation, have had a system forced upon them from outside their culture and have tended to remain outside the mainstream of the dominant, progressing society (although Freire would contend that they are actually within the society fulfilling the required role of 'beings for others'--oppressed slaves).[8] Coady's people however, are not set apart and have had access at least to some degree to participation through representative government. For them, there exists a workable infrastructure; it is more a matter of their willingness to see themselves as having both the right and the ability to use it fully.

It is interesting that despite this difference in perception of the poor either as innocent of or as in part responsible for bringing about their situation, both Freire and Coady come to much the same conclusion as to the best way to begin to bring about change. To both, the only people in the position to effect meaningful change and development for the poor are the poor themselves. Those at the top in any society are not likely to make the effort either to revolutionize a system that is currently supporting them or to share in any useful way their wealth or their power. It is probable that the majority of them do not accept that the poverty of the society might be a concommitant of their own more favorable position. The poor have the problem; the poor must provide their own solution. Even if the powerful did attempt to provide a solution, as some occasionally do, it would be based on the interpretation of the problem as they saw it, not necessarily

as it is for the poor. For Freire, it would continue to support the paradigm of imposition and oppression and so would continue the inequality. For Coady, it would be another service, a continuance of the loss of responsibility and of dignity. In neither case would the poverty be alleviated; in neither case would the poor learn the respect or depend on themselves.

The Role of Education

As educators, Freire and Coady see education as a focus for the examination of both what has gone wrong and what needs to be done. Both assess pre-adult education as an institution and find it wanting. It is Freire's "banking system", whereby knowledge and attitudes are selected by the rulers and 'deposited' into the waiting minds of the poor who can accept and react but can never originate or control. It is essentially a system of acculturation and preparation for meeting society's needs and for those who do not 'fit', it is a mechanism for cutting them out:

> ...in the last analysis, it is the men themselves who are filed away through the lack of creativity, transformation and knowledge in this (at best) misguided system. (Freire)[9]

> (It is) the trap door that enables (the bright and vigorous) to go into the so-called higher professions....(It) has created classes in a supposedly classless society....The result of this philosophy is to consider education as a means by which we can pick up from the masses...our army of professionals, business and service people....We have not been interested in the great masses left behind. (Coady)[10]

For those who make it, the price is high. They are forced to abandon their own ideas and adopt those of the dominant whom they serve. In this, both the student and his/her community lose:

> (It) is essentially a skimming process ...robbing the rural and industrial population of their natural leaders. The bright boys and girls are educated and get out....Their interests are now different than they would be back home, and if they are to succeed they have to promote the interests of the (ruling) classes.... (Coady)[11]

> ...the invaders penetrate the cultural context of another group (and) impose their own view of the world and inhibit the creativity of the invaded by curbing their expression....In order to achieve some satisfaction, they must adopt the precepts which have been set from above. One of these is not to think....These young people tend, when they become professionals...to repeat the rigid patterns in which they were miseducated. (Freire)[12]

While education in this one form has exacerbated the problem, in another form, true education provides the solution. For Freire, education must work for the people and the development "of their capacity to perceive the mysteries of changes" and to avoid being a pawn to those changes.[13] It is a process, a movement toward a synthesis of reflection about the world and action in the world. It is through this process of uniting thought and experience that a sense of social responsibility is developed, "an engagement in the task of transforming society; it cannot mean simply letting things run on".[14]

Coady's understanding of education is also as a process, "mobilizing people and getting them to ask themselves the double question: what shall we study (reflection) and what shall we do (action)?....It is asking them also to create new opportunities for themselves....It is asking them to use their intellect in such a way as to determine which things are possible and which things are not".[15] In other words, education should act not only to convince people of their capacity to determine their own destiny,

but also to provide tools for critically developing and assessing their goals.

While one might tend to view Coady as the moderate of the two and Freire the radical, it would be a mistake to consider them as much different in the intensity of their determination to begin this social mobilization. Nor is either particularly more willing to wreak havoc in order to attain his goal. Each appears capable of calm and of force. To quote Coady on economic determinism:

> ...responsible government did not bring true democracy. Many of our people are now asking for a responsible economy, for the right to manage their own business affairs....The demand is as reasonable (as it was for responsible government) and the people as determined. The wise among our leaders will assist the transition...and avoid the tragedy of blocking....(The people) will only be claiming their rights and no one may justly prevent them.[16]

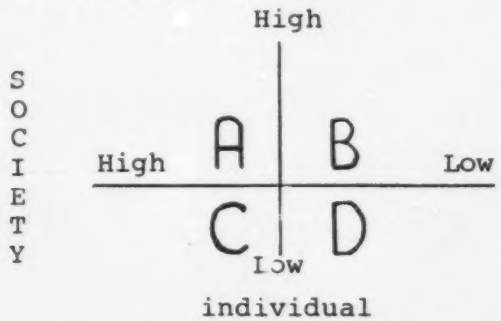
And Freire on participatory democracy:

> I was convinced that the Brazilian people could learn social and political responsibility only by experiencing that responsibility through intervention in the destiny of their children's schools, in the destinies of their trade unions and places of employment through associa-associations...and in the life of their neighbourhoods by actively participating; ...to learn democracy through the exercise of democracy.[17]

Perhaps Coday could remain a moderate, working within the system, because in his particular situation the system proved flexible enough. It is not too difficult to imagine a militant Coady righteously leading his 'little men' against a power structure not willing to see the justice of their cause. In the same way, Freire might well have remained a moderate reformer, given a social structure amenable to such reform.

Learner and Community

In both the Coadian and Freirian philosophies, the position of the learner is central, but not separate from the general community. The educator must start from where the learner is, his/her problems, ideas and attitudes, but always must relate the learner to the environment. Society and the individual are not two ends of a single continuum, but rather make up two very separate, although intersecting continuums. Thus, one does not gain at the expense of the other. Diagramatically, the relationship might be shown as in the following grid:[18]



The 'high' and 'low' on each continuum refer to the extent to which the educator is concerned about the needs, processes and impact of that element. In section A then, there is a high degree of involvement with both the individual and the society. The two are not viewed as separate but as integral. Freire and Coady would seem to fall within this section since their primary aim is to enhance the individual's functioning within the community; not to 'fit' one to the other, but rather to facilitate a more meaningful and productive two-way relationship.

Both therefore, insist on there being a democratic basis for any development and change. For democracy in the true sense forces an individual and a community into a co-operative, mutually inclusive arrangement. One does not exist <u>for</u> the other, but <u>within</u> the other.

> the individual man is the foundation;... his aggregate personal problems form the basis of national and international difficulties. We are living in an interdependent world.[19]

A society then, is more than just the sum of its parts; it implies people complete in themselves as individuals but with the additional characteristic of being part of a group with the bonds and behaviors of a social being. At the same time, the 'society' does not exist as a distinct entity that transcends its parts or as one that can justify an existence at the expense of the individual. Movement toward a positive societal change then, must have as its focal point individuals as they exist within their social environment. For Freire and Coady the pertinent individuals are the oppressed poor.

With this philosophy, certain methods of education are strongly suggested, the most important of these being that of going out to where the learners are: physically, emotionally, intellectually and experientially.

> We need therefore, a new kind of education that will give people life where they are and through the callings in which they find themselves. (Coady)[20]

> Education to be effective must be related to the situation which confronts the learner at the time of study....We learn by doing and by doing the things that bother us or whose solution needs attention. (Coady)[21]

> The point of departure of the movement lies in men themselves. But since men do not exist apart from the world, apart from reality, the movement must begin with the men-world relationship. Accordingly, the point of departure must always be with men in the 'here and now', which constitutes the situation within which they are submerged, from which they emerge and with which they intervene. (Freire)[22]

This is the method most likely to result in active learner participation in the larning process and active participation is the paramount prerequisite to involving the individual in critically examining his/her values, attitudes and most basic approaches to life. On this issue too, Coady and Freire are in accord:

> They must progress under their own steam... We cannot help them by handing out doles or treating them as inferiors...We have to release the energies that are in them and look forward to the day when they will be able to take over the affairs of their own lives. (Coady)[23]

> No pedagogy which is truly liberating can remain distant from the oppressed by treating them as unfortunates and by presenting for their emulation models from among the oppressors. The oppressed must be their own example in the struggle for their redemption...
> Attempting to liberate the oppressed without their reflective participation... is to treat them as objects which must be saved from a burning building...(to) transform them into masses which can be manipulated. (Freire)[24]

Education and Social Change

The first and perhaps most basic goal for both men in bringing about social change is the development of critical awareness on the part of the poor. Coady speaks of mobilization and attitudinization, Freire of conscientization. Both stress the need to develop "praxis", the synthesis between reflection and action, in order to achieve this pragmatic awareness of self in society. According to Coady:

> The people must have the proper attitude toward progress and its possibilities... It would be safe to say that half the job is done when the people are properly attitudinized...Easily emerging from such

> attitudes is the consciousness of destiny, without which no people can be great. The belief people have in their own capabilities, their sense of mission, forces them to the necessity of a plan to carry out their own dreams. The first great line of the blueprint of progress is to believe in the necessity of such a plan.[25]

In both programmes, the movement is initially from the facilitator, the animateur, to the learner. Neither programme is concerned with those people who occupy so much of the participation literature in adult education: those who are already motivated to attend a programme, have considered their own particular goals and sought out the agency most appropriate to them. Once enrolled, such learners may or may not continue to participate, but in a sense their persistence is not crucial for the educator. It is most likely not the purpose of that course or that educator to substantially alter thinking, change attitudes or "shatter the mind-sets" of the learners. Though the instructor/facilitator may very well be dedicated to helping adults achieve their goals and expand their learning and may use the best of andragogical techniques to bring about these ends, the goals are likely to be relatively specific and not to encompass the whole of the learners' lives. Revolutionary zeal is probably not a salient characteristic of the educator or of the programme.

For Coady and Freire such a characterization is however, pre-eminently appropriate. It is their philosophy of seeking a more complete democracy and their ideas about how this end can be facilitated that give life to their programmes. Though the needs of the learner are central, the initial stimulus to begin the educational experience comes from the animateur--Freire or Coady. This is not to say that either spells out the problems or their solutions (although both do channel the analysis to some extent as will be discussed later in the paper) but rather that each attempts to stimulate the learners to reflect on their lives in a new, more productive way. Once this process has begun, problem

definitions and solutions will develop, but from the learners, not from the facilitator.

The goals of both these programmes are then, process goals, and are all-encompassing. Learners do not participate simply to the extent that they have time 'left-over' which can be given to learning. H.Y. McCluskey[26] has introduced the idea of "margin" into the discussion of an adult's motivation for learning, and it seems a useful one to apply here. "Margin" in McCluskey's terms, is a function of load and power: all individuals have certain demands made upon them by their social/physical environment, and all individuals have a certain amount of power with which to cope with these demands, certain capacities, resources, skills etc. For some, the ratio of power to load tends to be fixed and either equal or negative: they can manipulate neither element and their ability to cope is just equal to or slightly less than the demands made on them. The result is stress and often breakdown. In any case, there is little left over for the extras, such as learning. Others are able to manipulate the elements and so alter the ratio. By reducing the load or increasing the power, the individual can maintain a power surplus, and this is his/her margin: the capacity for, interest in and attitudes favorable toward the more creative concerns of life like learning.

The issue for the educator then, becomes one of helping the individual improve his/her margin. The success of both Freire and Coady can perhaps be seen as a function of how well their programmes promote this margin for their learners. While it is usually not within the purvue of the adult educator to reduce life's demands on the learner, he/she can well work toward helping that learner increase his/her capacity not just to cope with but to direct and control productively those demands. By relating the learning directly to life problems and experiences, the facilitator supports the learner in the development of appropriate attitudes and skills, with power that is relevant. This movement becomes cyclic, for as the learners increase their power, they increase

their margin and so increase as well their capacity to continue to learn and develop. This is how the facilitator who can stimulate the initial interest will achieve what should be his/her goal: to become obsolete for any one learner. Ultimately, if the learning is to be real i.e. "to result in a more or less permanent change in the learner", it must be the responsibility of the learner him/herself. For Freire and Coady, life should become a process of learning and learning an integral part of living--as a more competent and confident citizen, consumer, parent, producer, spouse etc. As Coady puts it:

> We advocate perfection not in one phase alone but in every phase (physical, economic, cultural, institutional and spiritual)....The whole man must be wholly balanced....The extent to which the individual can attain this symmetry will depend upon his native capacity and his economic standing....Education will perform its true function when it enables him to attain this end and insures its permanency.[27]

Approaches to Learning

It is in their first interaction with the learners that Coady and Freire differ most dramatically. As mentioned earlier, this could be a function of their ideas about the complicity of the poor in bringing about their situation. Perhaps Freire's oppressed have been overwhelmed too long to permit any but the most tender of approaches. Coady's poor have not been so traumatized. It may just be the personal idiosyncracies of the two men involved.

While it is abundantly clear that both men care very deeply for the people to whom they have dedicated their lives, each projects a very different image. One has the impression of Freire as gentle advocate and guide moving among the sainted down-trodden, while of Coady as a vigorous task-master prodding his none-too-saintly flock off their seats and into action.

In any case, the initial impact of each would be, to say the least, different. Freire suggests the need of approaching with a low profile, informally meeting with community members, observing their daily routines and talking to them about the various components of their lives. Coady too, starts with a meeting but on a larger scale and with less subtlety:

> Here is exploded intellectual dynamite... that the people be shocked out of their complacency to begin an honest search for the truth...(in) a kind of intellectual bombing operation. It must shatter the mind sets of people, engender an attitude of scientific humility and bring them into a state of neutral which is the starting point for motion....(It is) to blast these minds into some real thinking.[28]

In a very real sense, the rationale behind Coady's explosion and Freire's informal interview is the same: to start people actively thinking about themselves and their environment. Freire directs his people with probing questions, challenging their answers and drawing their attention to contradictions in what they say and between what they say and what they do and thus helping them to build up their own understanding, their own themes of the world.

Coady seeks the same end by way of analogy and anecdote--society as a brick wall, economic development as a faulty chimney stack. His explosion is meant to cause cracks in calcified ideas, but then,

> if we break down, we must rebuild; if we confound, we must encourage. Consequently, the second function of the mass meeting is to indicate to the subjects thus prepared the way which they must subsequently follow ...flash pictures that will set them thinking correctly and efficiently about the possibilities of human life, that there are more things to know and do than they have ever dreamed possible.[29]

It should be remembered that Coady was writing almost forty years ago and styles have changed. However, although it is somehow uncomfortable to read of 'subjects' being 'prepared' and shown the 'way they must follow', a careful examination reveals that Freire's position and Coady's are not that dissimilar. Freire too, develops pictures or 'codes' that hopefully will set people chinking, examining, reflecting and expanding their perspectives. Both attempt to bring the learner toward a particular goal; neither would rejoice if that learner decided to ignore the process and remain unaware.

While Coady and Freire are clearly not neutral, they do not claim to be. Many a traditional educator, on the other hand, does claim that "value-free" label, undeservedly. Freire describes at length the negative, oppressor-based nature of the narrative banking system, as does Coady in different words. And Coady goes on to confront the issue of his own position:

> ...some will brand our education on economics as propaganda. We are tempted to believe that such an accusation might itself be propaganda for the status quo. The teacher who refuses to criticize conditions as they are invites suspicion, looks dangerously like a paid agent of the vested interests. If it is propaganda to point out the eternally right and basic relations of man to man in society, then I am a propagandist.[30]

Methodologically, both Freire and Coady base their programmes on learners as members of a group. Co-operation and sharing in both reflection and in action are fundamental if new awareness and control are to develop. According to Coady, humankind is undergoing an evolution from individualism to collectivism, "the great wave that is breaking over society"; such group action is more difficult, but then, "that is the characteristic of a grown-up race",[31] and the movement is necessary:

> A country full of efficient individuals is not necessarily an efficient nation; ...a society of independent individuals without harmony and a spirit of co-operation is woefully inefficient.[32]

Freire concurs:

> The pursuit of full humanity cannot be carried out in isolation or individualism, but only in fellowship and solidarity.[33]

One cannot "be" at the expense of another's existence, nor "have" if it prevents another's having. Group participation therefore, reifies the central theme of both programmes: the inseparability of the individual and society.

Literacy education forms the contextual focus of Freire's efforts to promote active awareness on the part of the poor. In his programme, reading becomes a two-way process of the expression and reception of ideas. It is not an end in itself, a 'subject' as it is in most North American reading programmes, but it is instead a means to an end. Literacy is not simply an act of recognition, letters as words, words as sentences. Rather, it is a conscious act of participation by the reader with the ideas expressed by the author. The reader is not passive, restricted to reacting to the words as articles of truth, but is active, engaged in relating what is read to what is already known through experience.

In reading as a 'subject', contributions of the reader are subordinate to the form and content of the text, often as interpreted by the teacher. Letter recognition, phonetic word-calling and rule-based sentence construction become 'reading'. In reading as an act of creation, contributions of the reader are paramount. Problem-posing dialogue and generative themes (usually visual representations of common life situations) are the stimuli. The individual in the context of his/her environment is the content and the form is the reader's individual expression of this content.[34]

Through 'dialogue', the learners come to a clearer understanding of the world around them. Where ideas were before abstract, mystified and naive, they now become explicit, reality-based and critical. The participants discover for themselves the words and phrases to describe the world in a way that permits them to act on it. These generative words, then, become the basis for the reading programme is the goal.

For Coady too, the end goal is active social awareness. The poor should realize their rights and responsibilities in the society and so come to exercise more effective control over their own destinies. Coady of course, differs from Freire in the means for bringing about this end. Instead of learning together the skills of literacy, Coady's participants learn together the skills of economic co-operation. For it is economic insecurity and inequality that are at the root of the social oppression of large segments of society:

> Owing to the intimate connection between economic control and political participation, political freedom is to a large extent nullified today. Domination in the economic field has meant control over the other fields of social activity.... (If) the people want equality of opportunity and full participation in the democratic society, they must improve their economic prestige through group action or co-operation....
> If we are seriously interested in raising the cultural level of the masses, we will help in solving the economic problems first so that they may cease to worry about bread...(and) will be at liberty to devote their time...to creating their own culture and their own men of genius.[35]

Though the content of Coady's process may differ from Freire's, the process itself is fundamentally the same. Through group study sessions and discussion, participants come to understand their problems in terms of the forces of economics.

When these forces have begun to become clear and the processes of production-distribution-consumption understood, solutions begin to develop within the community. Coady's learners, like Freire's, become then active subjects in their environment by becoming critically conscious of their situation.

There seems to exist in Freire's work an uncertainty that is not apparent in Coady's as to what will follow conscientization. In reading Freire, the implication is revolution of some kind, a structural and functional re-organization of the current social system. Certainly it is not a matter simply of switching positions, with the oppressed becoming the oppressors for "an act is oppressive only when it prevents men from being more fully human".[36] Basic values will have to be changed with dialogue replacing narration and co-operation replacing competition. However, the specifics of this revolution are not delineated.

Coady on the other hand is much more explicit as to the fundamental 'next steps'. The poor must mobilize for economic control through the development of co-operatives for the production, marketing and distribution of their goods, through credit unions, through housing co-operatives and through participation in trade unions:

> ...every little blow of these co-operatives becomes a sledge-hammer lick in building the new social structure. The common people do not have to wait for the superman; by manipulating social forces they can do the apparently superhuman job for themselves.[37]

Coady's concern that the new society be really new is like Freire's. Economic co-operation must not become "an instrument through which the masses can take toll from others", or demand a share in their wealth. It is instead the evolution of a different system whereby the new wealth that is created is "relayed back"

to those who created it i.e. the common worker.

Leadership and Co-operation

The question of leadership is an important one when viewing adult education as a social movement and both Freire and Coady deal with it at least to some extent. In programmes where the focus is on the dissemination of knowledge or the learning of a manipulative skill, the role of the educator/leader is relatively straightforward. He/she is expected to supply the data or provide the opportunity for supervised practice, albeit with a concern for learner needs and characteristics. In programmes such as Friere's or Coady's however, where the total life of the learner is involved, the role of the educator/leader is somewhat more complex. At what point does the leader withdraw to allow the learner to take control? What is the most effective way of supporting learner participation without at the same time encouraging dependence on that support? From where do the leaders come? Certainly there are those among the educated and privileged who while not seeing themselves as the oppressed in Freire's paradigm, do not see themselves either as the oppressors.

Leadership for Freire and Coady is more a matter of being a change agent than a teacher, a facilitator of learning rather than a supplier of knowledge. Both men strongly recommend that such leadership can come validly only from the people who are actually undergoing the change. While the initial stimulus for the movement may come from outside as it does in both the cases described here, the focus of its continuance must quickly shift to the participants themselves. And the leaders that do evolve from this group should remain of the group and not be promoted, or promote themselves to a position aloof from it. Once so removed, such leaders would become alienated, "acquire resources they did not formerly possess (and) either use these to control...or become strangers".[38] These leaders move in effect into the oppressor role to the extent that joint responsibility for the developmental process is lost, and

> ...not even the best-intentioned leadership can bestow independence as a gift....While no one liberates himself by his own efforts alone, neither is he liberated by others.... The correct method (of leadership) lies in dialogue.... From the outset...(the educator's) efforts must coincide with those of the students....His efforts must be imbued with a profound trust in men and their creative power....He must be a partner of the students in his relations with them. (Freire)[39]

Coady more clearly than Freire, combines theory with practical application. He too, believes that "leaders cannot be superimposed on the people, (that) they must emerge from the people themselves".[40] However, unlike Freire who is vague about how such natural leaders are to be encouraged and supported, Coady is explicit:

> The education programme provides the necessary information....Active part participation in co-operative projects creates the natural setting for (their) development...generating realism and a sense of responsibility.[41]

Included in the Antigonish programme in fact, was a leadership training component: residential courses at St. Francis Xavier University. While Freire feels that such courses are "in the last analysis alienating", Coady contends that they were essential if the people were to acquire the skills and understanding necessary to direct their own economic and social development. And,

> ...above all, (they were) intended to be inspirational. The field of social theory was opened up;...the instruments that would give the people an opportunity to realize their creative dreams were outlined; the technique of study and discussion groups was actually demonstrated. The school was turned into a miniature society.[42]

There is merit in both points of view, which, in the long run, may perhaps not be fundamentally different. There is certainly wisdom in Freire's argument that it is basically naive to assume that the community as a whole can be promoted by the promotion of its parts i.e. its leaders. Rather, it is the development of the whole that must be emphasized, and through that, the parts. Coady would not disagree. His leadership courses were not intended to draw the capable away from the community, but instead to improve this capacity within the context of the community for the use of the community. The link he made between learning and daily living was a continuing and a direct one.

Conclusions

Overall, Freire and Coady are much more alike than they are different. Their dreams about the creation of a better, more just and equitable social order are strikingly similar as are their philosophies about the role of the poor and oppressed in the realization of this dream. They do differ in terms of the extent of the change they see as necessary for attaining this goal, a result perhaps, as discussed earlier, of the particular context in which each finds himself. Rivera makes an interesting distinction between social development as a "re-focusing" and as a "mind-shift". In the first instance, "the individual realizes a new sense of wholeness, of communication with others, of direction....(He) becomes more active in his life pursuits and more efficient in these actions....His directional forces, previously fanned out or unconcentrated are focused toward a central purpose".[43]

In the second case, the change is more a convulsion than a re-direction, more a revolution than a reform:

> (It is) an eye-opening, a self-transformation, a new identity.... Lives are brought into a new perspective,...a re-forusing of energies....The perception of self

> and society--previously a socialized or adapted perception--is opened into an entirely new understanding.[44]

Rivera draws the analogy of a person with impaired vision putting on glasses: in the first case, it is a matter of a new prescription while in the second, it is a first time phenomenon.

Coady perhaps then, represents an attempt to motivate people to the stage where they will re-focus on their situation and their responsibilities for directing their own lives. He is handing them a new prescription and asking them to throw away the old glasses and put the new ones on (again, the responsibility is ultimately theirs).

For Freire, the task is to create an environment that will stimulate a total mind-shift, whereby the poor will be able to consider an entirely new social situation. He is supplying glasses for the first time.

The difference between the two seems then to be one of degree, not of kind; the fundamentals are the same. A final statement from each should serve to underlie this comparability:

> Men are fulfilled only to the extent that they create their own world and create it with their transforming labour...if their work does not belong to them, men cannot be fulfilled. (Freire)[45]

> We desire above all that they discover and develop their own capacities for creation. It is good to appreciate; it is godlike to create. (Coady)[46]

FOOTNOTES

1. Lindeman, Eduard, The Meaning of Adult Education, Harvest House, Montreal, 1961, pp. 48, 50, 104-5.

2. Moses Coady and the "Antigonish Movement" were involved in a wide variety of activities with the poor in Nova Scotia. Discussion circles met to share information about issues concerning almost every aspect of individual and community life; a radio station and a library were founded; several co-operative ventures were initiated. People were encouraged to seek new ideas not only from each other, but also to expand their understanding of social, political and economic theory through seminars conducted at the university and through the dissemination of pamphlets in the various study clubs. The idea was "to start with the simple material vital tc human living and move on up the scale to the more cultural and refining activities that make life whole and complete". (Coady, M.M., Masters of Their Own Destiny, Harper and Brothers Publishers, New York and London, 1939, p. 68).

3. Coady, Masters, p. 36.

4. Freire, Paulo, Pedagogy of the Oppressed, The Seabury Press, New York, 1973, p. 48.

5. Ibid., p. 49.

6. Coady, Masters, p. 22.

7. Ibid., p. 17. (Italics are author's).

8. Freire, Pedagogy, p. 61.

9. Ibid., p. 58.

10. Laidlaw, Alexander, Campus and the Community, Harvest House, Montreal, 1961, p. 101.

11. Laidlaw, Alexander, Man from Margaree: Writings and Speeches of M.M. Coady, McClelland and Stewart Ltd., Toronto/Montreal, 1971, p. 60.

12. Freire, Pedagogy, p. 153.

13. Freire, Paulo, Education for Critical Consciousness, The Seabury Press, New York, 1973, p. 8.

14. Ibid., p. 13.

15. Coady, Masters, pp. 11, 35-37.

16. Ibid., pp. 25, 29.

17. Freire, Education, p. 36.

18. This is a grid that I developed for my own use, to try to understand where philosophies of the social functions of adult education might fit. It seems clear that, depending on one's view, and hence position in the grid, different methods of educational organization might be implied, and different concerns in terms of learner participation. In terms of the grid, section B shows a high concern with society and little concern with the individual's part in it; an example might be mandatory continuing education. Section C shows the reverse, with concern for the individual but not as he/she exists in the society; 'liberal' continuing education, the 'cafeteria' approach might be an example. Section D is more difficult, since it would appear that neither the society nor the individual is the prime concern. Perhaps this is the section for the purely profit-motivated adult educators; perhaps pre-adult education in developing countries where the system has

simply been transplanted from another society (the West) and is meeting neither the traditional society's needs nor the learner's.

19. Coady, Masters, p. 39.

20. Laidlaw, Campus, p. 102.

21. Coady, Masters, p. 65.

22. Freire, Pedagogy, p. 73.

23. Laidlaw, Man from Margaree, p. 45.

24. Freire, Pedagogy, pp. 39, 52.

25. Laidlaw, Man from Margaree, pp. 42-43.

26. McCluskey, H.Y., "An Approach to the Differential Psychology of the Adult Potential", in Adult Learning and Instruction, S.M. Grabowski (ed.), Eric Clearing House on Adult Education and Adult Education Association, U.S.A., 1970.

27. Coady, Masters, p. 112.

28. Ibid., pp. 30, 32, 35.

29. Ibid., p. 35.

30. Ibid., p. 112.

31. Ibid., p. 27.

32. Ibid., p. 40.

33. Freire, Pedagogy, p. 74.

34. Freire is not the only proponent of the principles of learner-involved reading. In Teacher (Simon and Shuster, New York, 1963), Sylvia Ashton-Warner very compellingly describes her reading programme with Maori children based on their input, their development of "key-vocabulary" and their expression of their own ideas. In North America, a key contributor to what is called the "language-experience" approach to reading is R.G. Stauffer (Language Experience Approach to the Teaching of Reading, Harper and Row Publishers, New York, 1970.) Where Freire does stand apart, however, is in his concern with the particular view of the individual as a community member.

35. Laidlaw, Man from Margaree, pp. 23-24.

36. Freire, Pedagogy, p. 42.

37. Coady, Masters, p. 135.

38. Freire, Pedagogy, p. 139.

39. Ibid., pp. 54, 62.

40. Laidlaw, Man from Margaree, p. 107.

41. Loc. cit.

42. Coady, Masters, pp. 61-62.

43. Rivera, W.M., "The Changers: A New Breed of Adult Educator" in S.M. Grabowski, (ed.), Paulo Freire: A Revolutionary Dilemma for the Adult Educator, Publications in Continuing Education, Syracuse University and Eric Clearinghouse on Adult Education, New York, 1972, p. 62.

44. Loc. cit.

45. Freire, Pedagogy, p. 141.

46. Coady, Masters, p. 163.